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OCTOBER MEETING, 1881.

The regular monthly meeting was held on Thursday, the 13th instant, at 3 o'clock P.M., at the Society's rooms in Boston. In the absence of the President, who had started on his journey to Virginia, where he was to deliver the centennial oration at Yorktown on the 19th, the senior Vice-President, the Rev. GEORGE E. ELLIS, D.D., occupied the chair.

The Recording Secretary read the record of the previous meeting, and it was approved.

The Librarian presented the monthly list of donors to the Library. Among the gifts were a finely bound copy of the second volume of Mr. Sibley's Harvard Graduates, from the author; and the new volume of the Proceedings of the Trustees of the Peabody Education Fund, just received from Mr. Winthrop, the chairman of that Board.

The Cabinet-keeper reported that the medals and decorations of Dr. Jackson, which the Society had voted to accept as a deposit, had been received and placed in the Cabinet. He read the following letter from Mrs. Jackson to the President:—

Hon. R. C. WINTHROP,

DEAR SIR, — Agreeably to your permission I beg leave to deposit with your Society the accompanying medals and decorations, received by my late husband, Dr. Charles T. Jackson, from various foreign governments, in recognition of his several scientific discoveries; and in so doing I am happy in the assurance of their greater safety than in my care.

Yours very respectfully,

SUSAN JACKSON.

CONCORD, MASS., Sept. 17, 1881.

The VICE-PRESIDENT then said that the Society's records would hardly be complete without some notice of our sorrow for the nation's loss in the death of President Garfield. He submitted, therefore, as the first business of the meeting, the following resolutions prepared by the President before his departure:—

Resolved, That the Massachusetts Historical Society, recognizing the great crime of the 2d of July last as, in all its inci-

dents and consequences, the most impressive and deplorable event of modern history, desire to enter upon their records, in the simplest manner, an expression of their deep sorrow for the death of President Garfield, and of their heartfelt concurrence in all the surpassing tributes of respect and admiration which have been paid to his character and memory, in every part of our own land and throughout the world.

Resolved, That our President communicate the above resolution to Mrs. Garfield, with an assurance of our sincere sympathy with her in the terrible affliction which, in the providence of God, she has been called on to endure, and which she has borne with a resignation and a fortitude only equalled by those displayed by her illustrious and lamented husband to the last hour of his life.

These Resolutions were adopted by a rising vote.

The VICE-PRESIDENT continued : —

On the day following the last monthly meeting of this Society the remains of our late honored associate, Dr. Samuel Foster Haven, of Worcester, were committed to Mt. Auburn Cemetery. Reference was made to his decease at that meeting. Our esteem for him, our estimate of his high and attractive character, and of his many virtues, and our appreciation of his devoted labors and his great accomplishments in his chosen fields of history, archæology, and bibliography, require of us a further sympathetic reference. An affiliated body, the American Antiquarian Society, of which he was for forty-three years the Librarian, — and how much more than the Librarian ! — may well be charged with the grateful office of putting upon record, so far as that sad and fragmentary tribute can effect, the character and value of his services, continued with devoted and unwearied industry, with marvellous brilliancy of genius and aptitude for his work, and with a skill and ingenuity which made even the dumb relics in his charge to be communicative to one who merely looked at them. If the word Librarian means merely a custodian of books, it is a wholly inadequate title for Dr. Haven ; for he was himself the catalogue, the interpreter, the commentator, the appraiser of the contents and value of that rich collection of treasures which had so largely gathered under his administration. Among the portraits of all the worthies which adorn the walls of the Library in Worcester, beginning with that of the discoverer of the continent, there

is not one which more becomes its place than does that of Dr. Haven.

The services performed by Dr. Haven for our own Society, taken in connection with the help which he has privately furnished to many of its members in their own researches, call for our grateful recognition. He had eminently the special endowments, aptitudes, and trained habits for the most recondite studies and for accurate presentation of primary historical materials. The painstaking labor performed by him in arranging and facilitating for use by others large masses of miscellaneous papers, has been recognized by those who have profited by it. His name appears on the titlepages of very many monographs, but if he had concentrated his work given to them on any one of the largest subjects of our local or national history he would certainly have won high honor from it.

The papers inform us of the sudden decease of Dr. Josiah Gilbert Holland, whose name is on the list of Corresponding Members. We were glad to place it there when on his removal from this State it dropped from our list of Resident Members. Dr. Holland passes away in the full vigor of his powers, when he might have counted upon many more years for the exercise of his fine and versatile talents for the instruction and moral elevation, in several departments of literature, of his vast community of readers. He won his first fame and distinction in the department represented by this Society. His two volumes of the *History of Western Massachusetts* are faithful in their research and narrative.

Notices have recently appeared in the public prints of a proposition said to have been made by Mr. Scott, Chamberlain of the City of London, looking to the restoration to this country, by authority, of the manuscript volume of Governor Bradford's "*History of the Old Plymouth Colony*." The statement is made that as the volume is regarded as national property, it can be withdrawn from the library of the Bishop of London, at Fulham, only by act of Parliament. An intimation appears through the same channel, that if the volume is restored it will probably be presented by the British government to the library of Congress. Members of this Society will remember that a few years ago an informal request was made to our associate, the Hon. Charles F. Adams, to seek, by correspondence with Mr. Gladstone, that the volume be returned to this country. We should welcome its recovery

for this side of the water by whatever instrumentality, and whatever might be the destination or repository assigned for it here. As this Society can claim no previous right of ownership of the volume, we can do nothing more than manifest our interest in its recovery, and make any suggestions about it which are consistent with courtesy and propriety. If the volume should be returned through any kindly instrumentality bringing about an act of Parliament to effect it, the method of the act and the destination assigned for it might depend, in some measure, at least, upon the view taken by the British government of the means by which it obtained the volume and the tenure of its possession. If that government regards the volume as its own property, acquired as the spoil of war, and proposes to make a generous gift of it, then, as nations deal only with nations, and not with private bodies, the library of Congress might be regarded as the proper place of deposit. But if the volume is to come back in the form of a restitution to the representative of its owner, then it will not be unbecoming that some important facts bearing upon the subject should be brought to the notice of the British government. True, we might wait the result, and if the library of Congress should receive the volume representations might then be made to Congress that, as its library was not in existence when the volume was taken from this country, it may with propriety be instrumental in reassigning the volume to its rightful destination. Then will arise a question as to the ownership of the manuscript when it was taken from this country. It is believed that it was at the time, or had previously been, among Dr. Prince's collection of books and manuscripts in a tower-room of the Old South Meeting-house when the edifice was occupied by British soldiers in 1775-76. It is not known, however, whether the materials gathered in that repository for historical purposes were the absolute property of Dr. Prince, or had — few or more of them — been loaned to him, and then by him, subject to the recall of their individual owners. If the manuscript belonged to Dr. Prince, then its proper depository, in case of its return here, would be with the Prince Library, now in charge of the Boston Public Library. If it should be made to appear that the manuscript had been loaned to Dr. Prince, then the Pilgrim Society of Plymouth might perhaps put in a claim to its possession.

Mr. DEANE, — who, in 1855, procured a transcript of the Bradford manuscript from the Fulham Library, and edited

it for this Society, — expressed the hope that, if the application for the return of the volume to this country should be successful, there might be some designation accompanying it as to its place of final deposit. There would, of course, be many applicants for the volume, and it might be difficult to determine to whose custody it rightfully belonged. The owner of the volume in 1728 was Major John Bradford of Kingston, a grandson of the author. He had lent it to Judge Sewall, but the Rev. Thomas Prince got the permission of its owner to receive it, and use it in making his “Chronology”; and he asked the additional favor of “lodging it” in his New England Library, deposited in the tower of the Old South Church. All this he tells us in a note written on a fly-leaf of the volume, and now printed in the introduction to the published work. But Mr. Deane found, on inspecting the original manuscript some years later, the following supplementary note of Prince: —

“But major Bradford tells me and assures me that He only lent this Book of his Grandfather's to Mr. Sewall, & that it being of his Grandfather's own handwriting He had so high a value for it that he wou'd never Part with y^e property, but wou'd lend it to me, & desired me to get it, which I did, & write this that so major Bradford & his Heirs may be known to be the Right owners.”

Major Bradford probably never reclaimed the manuscript. He died in 1736, in the eighty-fourth year of his age. Prince died in 1758, bequeathing the New England Library to the Old South Church. The Bradford manuscript contains the printed book-plate of the New England Library pasted on one of the fly-leaves. It reads as follows: “This Book belongs to the New England Library Begun to be collected by Thomas Prince on his entring Harvard College July 6, 1703, and was given by ——.” No name of donor is inserted, and probably the book-plate was placed in the volume after Prince's death. One of the bishops of London has now written under the book-plate the following: “It now belongs to the Bishop of London's Library at Fulham.”

Mr. Deane said that there were two other manuscript books at Fulham, — parchment-bound folios, — which once belonged to the New England Library. One is a commonplace book, and the other a dictionary of authors. They were written by the Rev. Nathan Prince, a brother of the Rev. Thomas Prince, the founder of the New England Library; and a companion volume yet reposes among the manuscripts in that collection. It is well known that Governor

Hutchinson was the last person who publicly used Governor Bradford's manuscript. He published a long extract from it in the appendix to the second volume of his history, 1767, nine years after the death of Prince.

The Rev. Dr. HOPPIN expressed an opinion that it was possible that the volume found its way into the bishop's library through the Rev. East Apthorp, the first rector of Christ Church, Cambridge. Mr. Apthorp was made vicar of Croydon, England, in 1765, where Governor Hutchinson lived after his retirement from Boston. Both gentlemen were of Boston birth, and connected; Mr. Apthorp having married the Governor's niece. Hutchinson may have carried the volume to England, and given it to Apthorp, who, in addition to his vicarage, held a prebendary's stall in the London cathedral, and was a clergyman of influence. But Dr. Hoppin added that there was as yet no evidence to support this theory.

The Rev. Edmund F. Slafter, A.M., of Boston, was elected a Resident Member; and the Rev. Henry M. Baird, D.D., of New York, and Colonel Henry B. Carrington, LL.D., of the United States Army, were elected Corresponding Members.

The Hon. SAMUEL C. COBB communicated a couple of leaves from the private diary of his grandfather, General David Cobb, who was one of Washington's aids. These leaves cover the months of October and November, 1781, and contain memoranda of daily events during the siege of Yorktown, and of General Cobb's journey from Virginia to General Heath's post on the Hudson River. Mr. Cobb communicated, also, a letter from General Cobb to Judge Robert T. Paine, written nine days after Cornwallis's surrender, which gives a more detailed account than the diary.*

These papers here follow:—

Before York Town, Virginia.

October 1. The engineers reconnoitring the enemy's position and works. Every thing employed to bring up the heavy artillery and stores from the landing. Enemy fire a few shot now and then. Fair, cool.

* General Cobb was born in Attleborough, Mass., Sept. 14, 1748, and graduated from Harvard College in 1766. He was commissioned lieutenant-colonel in Henry Jackson's regiment early in 1777, and appointed to Washington's staff, June 15, 1781. He was a member of Washington's family for some years. A life of him, with a portrait, may be found in the "Memorials of the Society of the Cincinnati of Massachusetts," pp. 258-262. — Eds.

October 2. Still on our ground. Artillery and stores begin to come in. Still a fire from the enemy. Erected two redoubts last night on the ground the enemy left. Fair, cool.

October 3. At work on the redoubts. Firing from the enemy. Heavy artillery arriving in camp. Cloudy, cool, wind E.

October 4. Still at work. News that Duke Lauzun had a skirmish on the other side with Tarleton, and successful.* Four men killed last night. Cloudy and cool. Artillery still coming.

October 5. No material occurrence. Fascines and other necessary things were collected this day near the place of our intended approach, and every preparation made and making for breaking ground. Fair. Peirce, General Greene's aid, arrived with official accounts of the battle of the 8th ultimo.†

October 6. Cloudy, rainy at times, wind S. E. and E. Large quantity of fascines and gabions deposited on our right. Colonel Scammell died this afternoon, at Williamsburg, of his wounds, — a great and worthy officer. His loss much regretted by the army.

October 7. Heavy rain last night. We broke ground last night for our first parallel, and almost finished our trenches by morning. Fair most of the day. Cold, wind N. W. Not a man of ours killed or wounded.

October 8. Fair. The work going on with alacrity, some advanced batteries almost finished. Firing from the enemy as usual.

October 9. Cold last night; fair and warm. A battery with four mortars and six cannon (eighteens and twenty-fours) opened this afternoon. A number of shells thrown into the enemy's works. A French battery on the left was likewise opened. Received a letter from Jos. Russell. Not so much firing from the enemy.

October 10. Three large batteries, in addition to those of yesterday, opened this morning at daybreak with a large number of mortars, — most noble music! The enemy's works silenced. Constant firing from us through the day. Fascines and other utensils for forwarding our approaches collected.

October 11. Constant firing from us of shot and shells. The enemy return very few shot. Completing our first parallel and batteries. Fair, warm.

October 12. Broke ground last night on our second parallel, with very little loss, within two hundred yards of the enemy's works. More firing from the enemy than usual; few shells. The French lost fifteen men and two officers this day. Constant firing from our batteries.

October 13. Still completing the second parallel; the enemy increasing their fire. They threw a number of shells that injured us much.

October 14. Constant firing from the enemy, with some little effect. Large preparations making for further approaches.

* See "Magazine of American History," June, 1880, p. 446; January, 1881, pp. 41, 53; and September, 1881, p. 226. Tarleton's account of the affair is given in his "Campaigns in the Southern Provinces," at pp. 376-378. — Eds.

† The battle of Eutaw Springs. — Eds.

October 15. Last evening, at seven, we carried two of the enemy's advanced redoubts by storm, one by the French, the other by the American troops. Took sixty-seven privates prisoners and six officers, a major among them. It was conducted with great bravery and address. After taking the redoubts, we continued our second parallel to the right through them, with all the communications with the first parallel. All finished by morning. We are now within one hundred and fifty yards of some of the enemy's works. Batteries opening for guns and mortars.

October 16. Constant firing on both sides; our batteries not entirely completed. Fair; warm in the day, cool at night.

October 17. Fair. Rained last night, with high wind. Lord Cornwallis sent a flag requesting a suspension of hostilities for twenty-four hours, and that commissioners might be appointed to treat on terms for the surrender of the British army and navy under his command. Two hours were granted, which finally brought on an intercourse of flags that ended in a cessation of arms for the night. His lordship proposed surrendering prisoners, and some other terms that could not be granted.

October 18. After some flags had passed, commissioners finally were appointed to adjust the articles of capitulation: Lieutenant-Colonel Laurens and Count de Noailles on our side; Lieutenant-Colonel Dundas and Major Ross on theirs. Settled by ten at night. Fair; warm in the day, cold at night.

October 19. This morning at twelve the articles were signed. At one o'clock our troops took possession of some of the enemy's works, and they marched out [at] two o'clock, — most happy sight! Lord Cornwallis, being unwell, did not march with his troops. General O'Hara marched.

October 20. Fair and pleasant; a little frost this morning in the low ground. Went over to Gloucester and waited on Colonel Tarleton, who treated me very politely. The heads of department arranging matters in the town.

October 21. Fair and warm. His Excellency went off this morning to pay Count de Grasse a visit. The prisoners marched in the afternoon for Winchester, where they are to remain. The officers are chiefly paroled for New York and Europe. Jerry Olney. Camp before York, October 21.*

October 22. Fair, very pleasant. Lord Cornwallis and a number of British officers dined at head-quarters, — Lord Chewton,† General O'Hara, &c.

October 23. Fair, warm. His Excellency dined at Count Rochambeau's, with Lord Cornwallis and others, — a large company. Heads of departments still at work to arrange matters in proper places.

* Colonel Jeremiah Olney, who commanded the Rhode Island regiment at Yorktown. He was, after the war, the Collector of Customs at Providence and the President of the Rhode Island Cincinnati. — Eds.

† George, Viscount Chewton, afterward fourth Earl of Waldegrave. He was on Cornwallis's staff. See "Correspondence of Cornwallis," vol. i. p. 135. — Eds.

About seven thousand land troops returned prisoners. Received a letter from J. Russell.

October 24. Fair and pleasant. His Excellency, in company with the British general officers, dined at General Chastellux's. Arrangements making for the army.

October 25. Rained last night. Fair and cold. Every preparation making to establish order in the great confusions of York and Gloucester, and to convey the British officers to New York, those on parole.

October 26. Rained last night and till noon this day; some thunder; fair [in] the afternoon.

October 27. Fair and cool, brisk wind. Went into Yorktown with his Excellency, and called upon Lord Cornwallis. I dined with General Lincoln.

October 28. Fair and pleasant. Making up despatches for Congress. Wrote letters to R. T. Paine, Esq., and J. Russell, General Heath, &c. The English fleet arrived off the Capes.

October 29. Cold last night; fair, cold wind. Artillery and stores embarking at York for the Head of Elk. Some vessels sailing.

October 30. Fair; cool wind at N. W. Shifted southward toward night. Colonel Humphreys embarked for Philadelphia, and Fitzhugh for Maryland.*

October 31. Procured our things at York. Fair, pleasant. All the artillery and most of the stores loaded. Brisk wind.

November 1. Very high wind, with rain last night; fair and warm to-day.

November 2. Rainy and cool all day. Dined with General Wayne, in company with his Excellency, Count Rochambeau, Chastellux, &c. Went into York.

November 3. Fair, pleasant, wind N. W. Chief of the stores embarked, and most of the troops sailed up the bay; some go by land.

November 4. Fair, pleasant, cool. Took leave of all the French generals and our friends of the French army. Dined with General Chastellux.

November 5. Fair, pleasant, warm, wind N. W. Set off about ten o'clock from our old quarters near Yorktown; passed through Williamsburg, where the General visited the sick and wounded in the hospital, and proceeded on to Bird's ordinary to dine. Reached Colonel Bassett's in the evening. Mr. Custis, just expiring, died about nine

* The first despatches after the surrender had already been sent to Congress. Colonel Trench Tilghman was the bearer of them, and reached Philadelphia early in the morning of October 24. Colonel Humphreys carried full details of the affair, and twenty-four British standards. See "Pennsylvania Packet," Oct. 25 and Nov. 10, 1781. A memoir of Colonel Tilghman, with his diaries and letters, was published at Albany in 1876. The other officer mentioned was Peregrine Fitzhugh, a lieutenant in the Maryland Dragoons. Mr. B. Fernow, in an interesting account of Washington's military family, in the "Magazine of American History," for August, 1881, says that Fitzhugh was appointed aid, July 2, 1781, and thinks that his was only a temporary appointment.—Eds.

o'clock in the evening. I went with the General to Colonel Bassett's; the gentlemen stayed at Bird's.*

November 6. Set off from Colonel Bassett's. Left the General. Met the gentlemen on the road at Franks's, and pursued our journey to Mount Vernon. Got as far as Slaughters, six miles beyond the Pamunkey. Colonel Trumbull stayed with the General. Fair, agreeable.

November 7. Pursued our journey; breakfasted at Auletts,† and reached as far as the Bowling Green, forty miles. Fair, very pleasant, wind still N. W.

November 8. Continued our journey. Breakfasted at Todd's, halted for an hour at Fredericksburg, and reached Garnett's at night. Still fair and pleasant.

November 9. Still on our journey. Breakfasted at Dumfries, and got to Mount Vernon at night. Very cold this morning, but fair and pleasant the rest [of the day].

November 10. Fair, cloudy towards night; a little cool. Spent our time very pleasantly in company with General Knox and lady, Parson Blair, and others. Gunning.

November 11. Snow and rain most of last night and all this day.

November 12. Snowed this morning hard till noon, cloudy the rest of the day. Still at Mount Vernon.

November 13. Set off from Mount Vernon at one o'clock; passed the great Potomac at Alexandria, and got as far as Bladensburg. Cloudy and cold all day. Wind N. W. All the snow off the ground though it fell ten inches deep.

November 14. Continued our journey from Bladensburg. Breakfasted at Rose's, and got to Baltimore at night. Fair and pleasant; some ice last night.

November 15. Still on our journey. Breakfasted at Phillips's, stopped at Bush Town, and reached as far as the Susquehanna. Cloudy most of the day, sometimes fair.

November 16. Continued the journey from the Susquehanna, crossed the ferry at nine o'clock, and got to Head of Elk. Waiting for the vessels to come up the bay. Fair, cloudy [in] the afternoon.

November 17. Very rainy all day. Still at Elk. Wind N. E. Some vessels arrived here.

November 18. Fair most of the day; warm, pleasant. Still at Elk.

November 19. Rainy [in] the morning; the rest fair, cold. General Knox and lady came here.

* Bird's ordinary was a tavern on the road from Williamsburg to New Kent Court House. The Marquis de Chastellux gives (*Travels*, Eng. ed., vol. ii. pp. 3-7) an account of the landlord's sufferings at the hands of the British. Mr. Custis was John Parke Custis, Washington's step-son. He had contracted the camp fever in the trenches before Yorktown, where he was serving as an extra aid, and had been removed to Eltham, in New Kent County, the seat of his uncle, Colonel Bassett. Washington was much attached to him, and adopted his youngest children, Eleanor and George W. P. Custis. See Mr. Custis's "*Recollections of Washington*," pp. 254, 255, 505. — Eds.

† Aylett is laid down on modern maps of Virginia, on the Mattaponi River, in King William County. — Eds.

November 20. Set off from the Head of Elk. Breakfasted, Christina, passed through Wilmington, and lodged at Chester. Fair, cold; coldest last night of the year.

November 21. Very cold. Arrived at Philadelphia about eleven o'clock. Cloudy, and some snow. A vessel arrived with the news of the Spaniards capturing Minorca.

November 22. Fair, little warmer, wind S. W. Visited my friends.

November 23. Fair; cold again. General Lincoln arrived in the city.

November 24. Fair, cold. Set off from Philadelphia, passed Neshaminy ferry, stopped at Bristol, and got to Trenton at night. Passed the Delaware about sunset.

November 25. Continued my journey from Trenton. Breakfasted at Princeton, and passed through a most beautiful settled country on the Mill Stone River at Somerset, and lodged this night at the Raritan, Vamaster's [?] bridge. Cloudy and rainy all day; rained hard at night.

November 26. On my journey. Breakfasted at Veal Town, passed through Morristown to Salter's tavern, ten miles from Pompton. Cloudy; a little rain at times [in] the forenoon, the rest fair. Very high wind N. W.

November 27. Pursued my journey at sunrise. Breakfasted at Pompton, and got as far as Colonel Cooper's, two miles above Cahiatia church. Fair, very cold in the morning.

November 28. Still on my journey. Breakfasted at Colonel Hay's, Smith's White house at Haverstraw.* Passed King's ferry, and arrived at night at General Heath's quarters at Robinson's house, happy in seeing my friends. Cloudy [in] the morning, snow the rest of the day.

November 29. Rained last night; cloudy, rainy, and snowy at times all day. Visited Colonel Jackson and officers, hutting on the mountains. Stayed with them the night.

November 30. Still with the lads hutting in the mountains, and with General Heath at Robinson's house. Fair, agreeable day, warmer than common. Dined with Colonel Greaton.

Lieutenant-Colonel David Cobb to Hon. Robert Treat Paine.

HEAD-QUARTERS, NEAR YORK, VIRGINIA, Oct. 28, 1781.

MY DEAR SIR,—My not writing you heretofore has not been owing to a want of an affectionate remembrance of you and your family, but to a proper opportunity and a certain mode of conveyance.

You must be informed before this of the interesting event that has taken place in this quarter, which I should have informed you of at the time, but the despatches for Congress were sent so suddenly that I had

* "Smith's White House" was the name given to the mansion of Joshua Hett Smith. This was the house where André and Arnold met, and its owner was tried by court-martial for aiding in the treason. There is an account of the house, with a view, in the "Magazine of American History" for July, 1880.
—EDS.

only a moment just to inform Governor Hancock. As Lord Cornwallis surrendered at least seven days sooner than we expected, I will give you some of the particulars of our operations: On the 8th inst., after great exertions and fatigue in bringing up our heavy artillery and stores, we opened our first batteries upon his lordship; these required finishing; and putting our first parallel in a proper state of defence detained us till the evening of the 14th, when two of the enemy's advanced redoubts, through which we intended running our second parallel, were stormed and carried, and our second parallel, together with all its communications, was completed by morning. Most of the two following days were employed in erecting batteries on our advanced parallel; soon after they were completed, and we had opened sixty pieces of artillery. His lordship, on the morning of the 17th, sent a flag, which was the first that had passed, with proposals for the surrendering of the posts of York and Gloucester. Hostilities ceased. After an interchange of flags, by which the principles of the surrender were explained, commissioners were appointed on the 18th to settle the articles, and on the 19th, at two o'clock P.M., the British army marched out and grounded their arms,—most joyful day! Most of the officers are paroled for Europe, and their troops marched, three days after their captivity, for their lodgment at Winchester, in this State. The British army, including officers, is above seven thousand, and a thousand naval prisoners. We have taken two thousand suits of clothes, seventy-five pieces of brass artillery, and one hundred and forty-one iron, together with a quantity of powder and other military stores,—not forgetting the military chest, with two thousand pounds sterling in it, and nine thousand stands of arms,—about sixty sail of vessels, including a frigate and sloop of war, all which belong to the French. A forty-gun ship was burned by us in the siege.

This is the greatest blow our enemies have received during the war, more particularly as it has happened in that part of the continent they thought themselves perfectly secure of, and must, with a continuance of our exertions, soon put us in possession of our wished-for peace.

Arrangements are now forming for the future disposal of the troops, and I suppose those troops that belong northward will soon march for their old position on the Hudson. His Excellency will return with them. General Greene will be reinforced; and Count Rochambeau with his army will perhaps remain in this State.

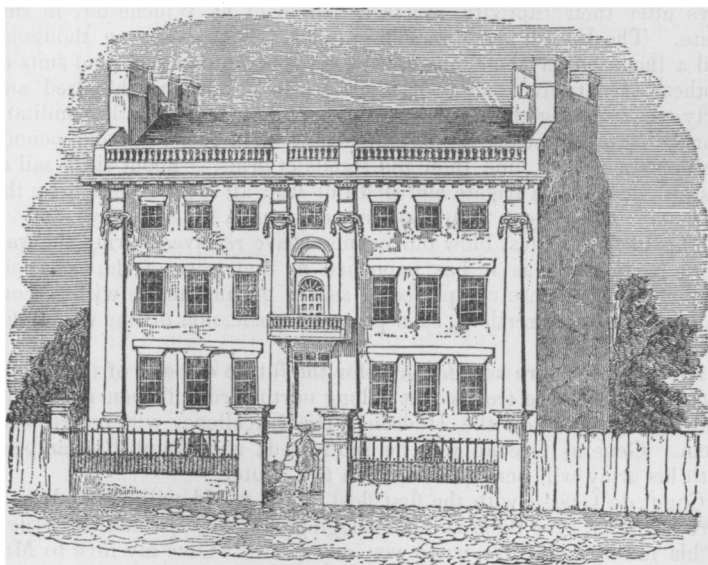
Count de Grasse, with the first fleet in the world, will, if the British dare face him, give them another flogging, and then pursue the orders of his master. I can't write you any more. Give my love to Mrs. Paine and family, and remembrance to all friends. Don't forget honest Joe. You will probably hear from me again when I come a little nearer to you; at present I am out of the world. My best wishes attend you, and believe me ever your sincere friend,

DAVID COBB.

Hon^{ble}. Robt. Treat Paine.

Mr. WINSOR, at the instance of Professor Torrey, drew attention to some letters, chiefly by Governor Hutchinson, referred to or printed in part in "The Calendar of Home Office Papers," of the reign of George III., 1770-72; being volume iii. of the series. The originals are preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office; and Mr. Winsor asked to have the memorandum referred to the Publishing Committee, with a view to procuring full copies for the Proceedings, in case it was found desirable. Hutchinson's letters are addressed to John Pownall and Hillsborough, and refer to the spirit of revolution then growing in Boston. The editor, Mr. Roberts, makes, in his preface, particular mention of these letters of Hutchinson.

Mr. Winsor stated, also, that he had discovered a picture of Governor Hutchinson's house in Garden Court Street, Boston, and exhibited it, in the "American Magazine" for February, 1836, vol. ii. p. 237. This periodical was edited in part by our associate, Mr. Sibley.*



Mr. HORACE E. SCUDDER, who had just returned from a summer's journey to Norway and Sweden, was called upon. He asked to be excused from speaking of the pleasures of

* The view here given is reduced one-third from the picture in the Magazine. — Eds.

his visit, on the ground that he was not expecting to be called up. He presented, however, for the Cabinet, a photograph of the old mill at Chesterton, in Warwickshire, which Dr. Palfrey thinks may have been the prototype of the mill at Newport, Rhode Island, and spoke of his visit to it.

The Rev. HENRY F. JENKS called attention to an error in the last volume of the Society's Proceedings:—

On page 436 of the last volume of the Proceedings of this Society it is said, in reference to the pulpit of the old church in Brattle Square, that it was presented to the church by Governor Bowdoin.

That this is incorrect will be seen by a reference to page 101 of Dr. Lothrop's History of Brattle Street Church, where it is said:—

“The most liberal subscriptions were those of Governor Hancock and Governor Bowdoin. The latter gave £200. The former gave £1,000, reserving to himself ‘the particular disposition of the sum and the beginning and completing a mahogany pulpit, with its full furniture, a mahogany deacon's seat, and the communion table, under his own direction.’ . . .”

Governor Bowdoin presented to the Society the clock which hung on the front of the organ gallery, and bore his name. This clock, with other property of the church deposited in the warehouse of one of its deacons, was destroyed in the great Boston Fire of 1872.

Mr. GEORGE DEXTER communicated the following remarks on the first voyage under Sir Humphrey Gilbert's patent, of 1578:—

Sir Humphrey Gilbert's interest in maritime discoveries and in the settlement of colonies in the new-found countries is well known. He will always be ranked, with Raleigh, as the great promoter of American colonization. Thirteen years older than his half-brother, he may perhaps be said to have laid the plans which Raleigh afterward improved and came very near carrying to a successful issue.

Among the documents in the English State Paper Office is a letter or petition from Gilbert to the Queen, with proposals for undertaking the discovery of a passage to Cataia,

dated as early as 1567.* And again, in 1574, having passed most of the intervening years in military service (in Ireland, where his bravery was rewarded by the honor of knighthood, Jan. 1, 1570, and in the Netherlands), he, with Sir George Peckham, Christopher Carlile, Sir Richard Grenville, and others, petitions the Queen to allow an enterprise for the discovery of "sundry ritche and unknowen landes."† There is preserved, also, among the State Papers, a curious discourse, dated Nov. 6, 1577, "how Hir Majestie may annoy the King of Spayne," the signature to which, obliterated with a pen, has been supposed to be Gilbert's. The author proposes to fit out a fleet, under pretence of a voyage of discovery, and to destroy the Spanish trade in Newfoundland and the West Indies.‡

More than a year before the date of this "Discourse," however, another, of which Gilbert was the undisputed author, was published. It is entitled "A Discovrse of a Discouerie for a new Passage to Cataia," and was published, as the titlepage shows, April 12, 1576. This is the well-known discourse reproduced by Hakluyt in 1589.§

* There is really no date to this paper, but the editor of the Calendar, Mr. Robert Lemon, assigns it to February, 1567. The discovery was to be performed in four voyages under certain privileges to endure for ten years, commencing "March come twelvemonth, 1568." See Calendar State Papers, Domestic, 1547-80, p. 288; and *Addenda to Domestic Series*, 1566-79, pp. 27, 28.

† Cal. St. Papers, Dom. 1547-80, p. 475. This petition is dated March 22, 1574, and, under the same date, a letter was sent by these same gentlemen to the Earl of Lincoln, Lord High Admiral, with detailed specifications of the advantages to be gained by their proposed voyage, whose aim was to be south of the equinoctial line. At page 520 of this volume of the Calendar is a writ from the Admiralty Court, dated March 23, 1576, for the recovery of goods taken from five British ships wrecked on the Sussex coast, "richlye laden with merchandizes from the Southe partes." Mr. Lemon conjectures that this may refer to the return of the expedition. But I can find no supporting evidence.

‡ Cal. St. Papers, *ibid.* p. 565. Mr. J. A. St. John gives in his "Life of Sir Walter Raleigh" (2d. ed. pp. 14-18), some account of this document. He appears to have examined it carefully. He says that the obliterated signature is Gilbert's, but he is himself of opinion that Raleigh was the author.

§ A copy of this rare book of Sir Humphrey Gilbert is in the John Carter Brown Library at Providence. It is carefully described by Mr. Bartlett, in his catalogue, vol. i. pp. 258, 259, with a *fac-simile*, slightly reduced, of the still rarer map. The book was given to the press by George Gascoigne, the poet, who prefixes an epistle to the reader, and a sonnet. It was published without Gilbert's knowledge or consent. The discourse is found in Hakluyt, ed. 1589, pp. 597-610; ed. 1600, vol. iii. pp. 11-24.

Watt, in his "Bibliotheca Britannica," gives, under Gilbert, the title of another book, "A true report of the late Discoveries and possession taken in the right of the Crown of England to the new found Lands. London, 1583, 4to." This is, of course, a mistake, as Gilbert sailed on his fatal voyage, June 11, and was lost September 9 of that year. The book which Watt cites is doubtless Sir George Peckham's tract, published in that year. The titles agree very nearly, and Peckham's book has Gilbert's name on the titlepage, while the author's appears only in the signature of his initials to the dedication.

Gilbert obtained from Queen Elizabeth a patent, dated June 11, 1578, by which he was granted the right to discover and colonize any new lands not actually in the possession of a Christian prince or people, and was given all the usual rights and privileges of lord of the soil, a royalty of the fifth part of the precious metals found being reserved to the Crown.

The accounts of the first voyage undertaken under this patent in the modern biographies of Gilbert and of Raleigh are quite confused, and contradictory. There is no unanimity of statement of even so important a fact as the date of the expedition, some placing it in 1578, others a year later. It would appear that either no one of these writers has been in possession of all the authorities for the voyage, or that none of them has collated these authorities with sufficient care to bring out a clear account of it. It is my purpose to reproduce here all these authorities and references, arranging them in order, with the hope that their study may afford a more detailed story than can be found elsewhere.

The patent was dated June 11, 1578, and naturally preparations were at once made for a voyage.* The first word we get of the fleet is the notice of its intended departure. Sir Humphrey writes from Greenway, his home, "a little mile above the town of Dartmouth,"† Sept. 23, 1578, to Secretary Walsingham, "has sailed from Dartmouth on the 23d, with a fleet of eleven ships and five hundred able men for his intended voyage. Desires Walsingham to keep him in her Majesty's good favor and credit."‡ The start, if made at this time, was a false one. There were soon disputes and disagreements among the captains, and the ships did not really get away on their voyage. Gilbert writes again to Walsingham from Plymouth, November 12, "com-

* Gilbert's patent is given at length by Hakluyt, vol. iii. pp. 135-137; and by Hazard, vol. i. pp. 24-28.

† Prince, *Worthies of Devon*, p. 416.

‡ Cal. St. Pap. Dom. 1547-80, p. 600. The identity of the dates of the letter and the day of departure may be a little perplexing. St. John, who examined the documents in the State Paper Office relating to this voyage, says that the fleet, "though ready for sea as early as the end of September" (*Life of Raleigh*, p. 20), did not start until two months later. Perhaps the *has sailed*, the words not of Gilbert but of the person who epitomized the letter for the Calendar, may be a mistake, and the letter may mean only that every thing was ready for the sailing. In the Calendar of Domestic Papers, *Addenda*, 1566-79, pp. 548, 549, there is a letter from Henry Killigrew to William Davison, from Hendon, Oct. 10, 1578. Mr. Killigrew had just returned from a visit to Cornwall and Devonshire, and as part of the little news from the West writes, "Sir Humphrey Gilbert with his ten ships set forward on 25th September, but I know not whither."

plains of Mr. Knollys's unkind and ill dealing towards him and other gentlemen in Devonshire, and of his separating company on the voyage. His fleet, however, of seven sail is sufficiently large to accomplish his business."* Six days afterward, on the 18th, he writes, still from Plymouth, "sends a certificate of the causes of Mr. Knollys's departure from him to be shown to the Queen and the Council. His cousin Denny accompanies Knollys in this breach." With this letter was enclosed "the certificate of the causes why Mr. Henry Knollys quitted the company of Sir H. Gylberte as alleged before the Mayor of Plymouth and other gentlemen."† Some of the particulars of Knollys's conduct are stated by Mr. St. John. He says that the whole town of Plymouth was filled with brawl and riot; that Knollys was insolent to Gilbert and insubordinate.‡ Knollys sailed, November 18, with his ships and followers, on an independent expedition of adventure or piracy. Gilbert is said to have sailed the next day. He, with Raleigh and the rest, did certainly start about this time.§ Sir John Gilbert, the elder brother of Sir Humphrey, writes to Walsingham from Exeter, December 20, "The fleet under the command of Sir H. Gylberte was well provisioned and victualled for a voyage of one year. One ship left behind because it leaked."||

It is impossible to give much account of the voyage itself. There exists no printed narrative by any of the sharers in its dangers and reverses. From the authorities that we have it is to be supposed that Gilbert and Raleigh parted company, that each had a fight with the Spaniard in which neither was very successful, and that they returned to England at different times.

Captain Edward Haies, who wrote an account of Gilbert's voyage of 1583, speaks thus of this earlier attempt:—

* Cal. St. Papers, *ib.* p. 605.

† *Ibid.* The certificate is signed by William Hawkyns, Walter Rauley, and others

‡ St. John's Raleigh, pp. 20, 21.

§ St. John says, p. 22, that "On the 19th of November Gilbert, with seven ships and three hundred and fifty men, set sail from Plymouth." He cites as his authority, "Gilbert to Walsingham, Nov. 12, 1578, State Paper Office." Of course Gilbert cannot have written that he sailed on the 19th seven days before that date. The calendar, however, p. 605, names, under dates November 18 and 19, what I suppose are two separate papers: "The names of all the ships, officers, and gentlemen, with the pieces of ordnance, &c., gone in the voyage with Sir Humfrey Gylberte, Captain Walter Rauley commanding the Falcon: also the names of the ships, officers, and gentlemen who went with Mr. Henry Knollys on the 18th November."

|| Cal. St. Papers, *ib.* p. 609.

"When first Sir Humfrey Gilbert undertooke the Western discovery of America, and had procured from her majesty a very large commission to inhabit and possesse at his choice all remote and heathen lands not in the actual possession of any Christian prince, the same commission exemplified with many priuileges, such as in his discretion he might demand, very many gentlemen of good estimation drew vnto him, to associate him in so commendable an enterprise, so that the preparation was expected to grow vnto a puissant fleet, able to encounter a king's power by sea: neuertheless amongst a multitude of voluntary men, their dispositions were diuers, which bred a jarre, and made a diuision in the end, to the confusion of that attempt euen before the same was begun. And when the shipping was in a maner prepared, and men ready upon the coast to go aboard; at that time some brake consort, and followed courses degenerating from the voyage before pretended; others failed of their promises contracted, and the greater number were dispersed, leaving the Generall with few of his assured friends, with whom he aduentured to sea; where hauing tasted of no lesse misfortune, he was shortly driuen to retire home with the losse of a tall ship, and (more to his grieve) of a valiant gentleman, Miles Morgan."*

Of Sir Walter Raleigh's adventures in this voyage we have more particulars. John Hooker, who edited the second edition of that portion of Holinshed's Chronicles which relates to Ireland, with a continuation, was a relation of Raleigh and dedicated his work to him. In his "Epistle Dedicatorie" he writes:—

"For after that you had seasoned your primer yeares at Oxford in knowledge and learning, a good ground and a sure foundation to build therevpon all your good actions, you trauelled into France, and spent there a good part of your youth in the warres and martiall seruices. And hauing some sufficient knowledge and experience therein, then after your returne from thence, to the end you might euerie waie be able to serue your prince and commonweale you were desirous to be acquainted in maritimall affaires. Then you, together with your brother Sir Humfreie Gilbert, trauelled the seas, for the search of such countries, as which if they had beene then discovered, infinit commodities in sundrie respects would have insued, and whereof there was no doubt, if the fleet then accompanieng you, had according to appointment followed you, or your selfe had escaped the dangerous sea fight, when manie of your companie were slaine, and your ships therewith also sore battered and disabled."†

A still fuller account is given by the editors of Holinshed's

* Haies in Hakluyt, vol. iii. pp. 145, 146.

† Holinshed's Chronicles, ed. 1807-8, vol. vi. pp. 106, 107.

second edition, when they come to mention the expedition sent out by Raleigh under the command of Captains Amadas and Barlow, in 1584. After relating briefly that voyage "with direction to discouer that land which lieth betwéene Norembega and Florida in the west Indies," the Chronicle continues:—

"This countrie of Norembega aforesaid (and the land on this side of it) Sir Humfrie Gilbert, brother to Sir Walter Raleigh, a man both valiant and well experienced in martiall affaires, did attempt to discover, with intention to settle an English colonie there in the yeare 1578: hauing in his companie his two brethren Walter and Carew Raleighs, Henrie Knolles, George Carew, William Careie, Edward Dennie, Henrie Nowell, Miles Morgan, Francis Knolles, Henrie North, and diuerse other gentlemen of good calling, and ten sailes of all sorts of shipping, well and sufficientlie furnished for such an enterprise, weighed anchor in the west countrie, and set to the sea. But God not fauoring his attempt, the journeie tooke no good successe; for all his ships inforced by some occasion or mischance, made their present returne againe: that onelie excepted wherein his brother Walter Raleigh was capteine, who being desirous to doo somewhat worthie honor, tooke his course for the West Indies, but for want of vittels and other necessaries (needful in so long a viage) when he had sailed as far as the Ilands of Cape de Verde upon the coast of Affrica, was inforced to set saile and returne for England. In this his viage he passed manie dangerous aduentures, as well by tempests as fights on the sea; but lastlie he arriued safelie at Plymouth in the west countrie in Maie next following."*

From this it appears that Raleigh returned to Plymouth in May, 1579. There is evidence that Gilbert had returned earlier, how much earlier it is not possible to say precisely. Preparations were making for a renewal of the voyage before Raleigh's return. Mr. Edwards states that the Lords of the

* "This extract from Holinshed has not, I think, been cited before. I take it from the edition of 1807-8, vol. iv. p. 534, but have compared it with the earlier edition. Holinshed's Chronicle was first published in 1577, a year before this expedition was undertaken. A second edition, in three volumes, folio, was published in 1586-87, after the death of Holinshed. This was prepared, and the Chronicle continued to its date by Abraham Fleming, John Stow, and others. Into this second edition new matter was interpolated freely. The insertions are all, however, properly marked at beginning and end, and their sources indicated in the margin. The source from which this account of Raleigh's voyages was obtained is designated *A. F. ex add. G. C.* A. F. is of course Fleming, who furnished much material to the new edition, wrote the preface to the historical part of the Chronicle, and prepared the indexes. I cannot identify G. C. If these are the initials of any of the persons named in the account of the earlier voyage the choice rests between George Carew and William Carey, according as we read in English or Latin. The edition of 1807-8 is an exact reprint in six handsome quarto volumes of the second edition.

Council wrote to Gilbert, April 26, "to revoke him from his intended journey at the seas, for seeking of foreign countries; or if he shall proceed in it, [then to direct] that he put in sureties for his good behaviour." Gilbert, he says, was just putting out to sea, and answered through his brother, Sir John, that he "could not, without great loss, stay." But he was detained by contrary winds, and while still in port was again enjoined from his enterprise. The Privy Council order Sir John Gilbert to return a Spanish bark taken by some of Sir Humphrey's men, and add: "for that their Lordships are advised your brother Sir Humphrey is not yet departed; and that your brother Walter Rawley is returned to Dartmouth; like as their Lordships have written to the Sheriffs, Vice-Admiral, and Justices of that county to command them both to stay; so you are required friendly to advise them to surcease from proceeding any further, and to remain at home to answer such as have been, by their company, damaged." *

These orders from the Council appear to have been effective enough to break up the proposed renewal of the voyage. I get no trace of the sailing of either Gilbert or Raleigh in the year 1579, and there can be little doubt that the expedition was abandoned so far as America was concerned. Raleigh soon took military service in Ireland under the Lord Justice, Sir William Pelham, who was succeeded in the command by Lord Grey of Wilton, as Lord Deputy. Returning from this service about the close of the year 1581, he repaired to Court and rose rapidly in favor.

Gilbert probably preceded Raleigh to Ireland, where he had done good service some years before. The Privy Council remonstrances may have been accompanied with, or speedily followed by, inducements to enter the service of the Crown against the Irish, who had again raised the standard of revolt under the leadership of James Fitzmaurice. Fitzmaurice landed at Smerwick in the beginning of July, bringing with him from Spain about fourscore Spaniards and a few English-

* Edwards's *Life of Sir Walter Raleigh*, pp 78, 79. He cites from the Register Book of the Privy Council, Elizabeth, vol. iv. pp. 461, 492, 493, *et seq.* Curiously enough, Mr. Edwards makes these remonstrances apply to the beginning of the voyage, which he thinks took place in 1579, being apparently ignorant of the existence of the papers in the State Paper Office; while Mr. St. John, unaware of these Privy Council entries, makes the voyage last from November, 1578, to the end of the following spring or beginning of the summer. An entry on the Council book, cited by Edwards as the first mention of Raleigh's name there (p. 37), charging him and his brother "in her Majesty's name to remain on land and to surcease proceedings in their enterprise," bears date May 29, 1579. This date tallies with the statement in Holinshed that Raleigh returned in May.

men and Irishmen.* Gilbert had three ships employed in the Irish service as early as the 21st of July. Their names were the "Anne Auchier," the "Relief," and the "Squirrel," and these vessels may quite possibly have shared in the exploring voyage of the previous year.† A commission was issued to him by the Lord Justice, Sir William Drury, and the Council, at Dublin, July 24, with instructions, "to take up ships and prosecute James Fitzmaurice."‡ Other notices of Gilbert's service in Ireland are to be found in the Calendars of Irish State Papers. He seems to have had some difficulty and dispute with one Sir Owen O'Sullivan, whom he suspected of harboring some reinforcement to Fitzmaurice's train.§ I do not know when Gilbert left Ireland. There is a letter from him to Secretary Walsingham, written from Minster in Sheppey, July 11, 1581, wherein he "desires payment of the little sum of money remaining due to him for service of his three ships in Ireland. Has been reduced to utter want by his losses there. It is a miserable thing that after seven-and-twenty years' service he should now be subject to daily arrests, executions, and outlawries, and to sell his wife's clothes from her back."|| Captain Edward Haies, in the earlier part of his narrative of the fatal expedition of 1583 says, after speaking of the voyage of 1578:—

"Hauing buried onely in a preparation a great masse of substance, wherby his estate was impaired, his minde yet not dismaied, he continued his former designment and purpose to reuiue this enterprise good occasion seruing. Upon which determination standing long without meanes to satisfy his desire, at last he granted certaine assignments out of his comission to sundry persons of meane ability desiring the priuilege of his grant, to plant and fortifie in the North parts of America about the riuer of Canada to whō if God gaue good successe in the North parts (where then no matter of moment was expected), the same (he thought) would greatly aduance the hope of the South and

* Holinshed's Chronicles, 1807-8, vol. vi. p. 406.

† Cal. St. Papers, Irish, 1574-85, p. 192. The reckoning in the Auditor's book was for service from July 21 to Oct 16, 1579. The "Anne Auchier" was named for Lady Gilbert, whose name was Anne Aucher, or, as it is sometimes spelled, Ager.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 175.

§ See State Papers, Ireland, 1574-85, pp. 193, 202; and Carew, 1575-88, pp. 175, 176, 185.

|| Cal. St. Papers, Domestic, 1581-90, p. 22. He urges the same request from Westminster, October 25. See Cal. Ireland, 1574-85, p. 326. The manor of Minster in the Isle of Sheppey is spoken of in January, 1583, as Lady Gilbert's only stay left to live by during her husband's proposed absence. Cal. St. Papers, Domestic, 1581-90, p. 94.

be a furtherance vnto his determination that way . . . Time went away without any thing done by his assignes." *

There is no need to linger upon the story of Gilbert's final and fatal expedition in 1583. This story is narrated at length by one of the party, Edward Haies, captain of the "Golden Hind," the only one of the five vessels which returned to England. It is set forth in all our histories and school-books. Sir Humphrey Gilbert sailed from Causand Bay, near Plymouth, June 11; took formal possession of the country (Newfoundland) August 5; and was lost in a storm on the return voyage, September 9. "We are as near to heaven by sea as by land."

The Rev. EDWARD G. PORTER spoke of some points relating to President Garfield's ancestry:—

Mr. President, I am sure the members of this Society will take an interest in some letters which have lately come into my hands, written by our lamented President. They relate to his family history, as far as he was himself able to trace it, and were addressed to a relative of his, at present residing in Lexington.

Before reading the letters, permit me to supply from other sources a few facts which will serve to shed additional light upon the subject. It is very gratifying to us to know that our President came from good old Massachusetts stock, being a direct descendant in the ninth generation from Edward Garfield, one of the early settlers of Watertown.

According to Dr. Bond, this Edward and his son, Edward Garfield, Jr.,† must both have come from the old country.

* Haies in Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 146. The only assignment of Gilbert's patent I find mentioned is one to Sir Thomas Gerrard and Sir George Peckham. These gentlemen, certainly not "persons of meane ability," ask Secretary Walsingham for permission for certain persons to quit England, stating that Sir Humphrey Gilbert has assigned to them his patent for the discovery and conquest of heathen lands. Cal. St. Pap. Domestic, 1547-80, p. 695. There is no date to the letter, but the editor refers it to 1580.

† The record here is obscure. Dr. Bond's theory that there were two Edwards, father and son, is a reasonable and, at first sight, almost a necessary one; but the town records, which are well preserved, do not explicitly support such a theory. They frequently mention the name of Edward Garfield (without any distinction) as Selectman in 1638, 1655, and 1662, and as constable even as late as 1661, when the entry occurs, "Ould Garfeild and Willi Bond are chosen constables for this yeare ensewing." He was called old not necessarily to distinguish him from a younger Garfield, but perhaps simply on account of his great age, for he must have been about 86 that year, as it is legibly recorded

Edward, Jr., was admitted freeman in 1635, and served as Selectman in 1638, 1655, and 1662. In the original allotments of land, his name appears as a grantee in different sections of the town, and afterward he purchased a large forty-acre lot which had belonged to the Rev. George Phillips, Watertown's first minister, and which was adjacent to land granted to Sir Richard Saltonstall. The property is known in our day as the Governor Gore place.

Benjamin Garfield, born in 1643, the fourth child of Edward, Jr., was a noted man in his day; being repeatedly elected to the principal town offices, and serving nine terms as Representative to the General Court between 1689 and 1717. He was also captain of the militia. He married, first, Mehitabel Hawkins, whose gravestone in the old Watertown burying-ground is inscribed as follows: —

MEHETABEL · GEARFEILD
The · Wife · of · BENJAMIN
GEARFEILD · Aged · 25 y^{rs}
and · Deceased · the · 9 Day
of · the · 9 Month · 1675

Captain Garfield's second wife was Elizabeth (mother of Thomas, below), daughter of Matthew Bridge. She outlived him, and married, 1720, Daniel Harrington, of Lexington.

Captain Benjamin died in 1717. His grave may be found near the upper corner of the old Waltham burying-ground on Main Street, near Beaver Brook. It is marked by a good-

in 1672 that "Edward Gearffeild dyed the 14 of June aged about 97." And there is no record of the death of any other Edward at that time.

His first wife (if this be he), Rebecca, the mother of his children, "dyed the 16 of Aprill [1661] aged about 55." And "Edward Gearffeild and Johannah Buckmaster wear maryed 1. 7"; i. e., Sept. 1, 1661. The will of Edward, taken from the Probate files, is given at the end of this paper. It is a quaint document, and shows that the testator (the father of Samuel, Joseph, Rebecca, Abigail, and Benjamin) was in feeble health, and not able to write his name in 1668, or four years before his recorded death at the age of 97. The writer therefore ventures to suggest that there was but one Edward, and that many of his public services, as well as his second marriage, transpired when he was far advanced in years. Instances might be quoted in our own time of similar services and marriages at as great an age.

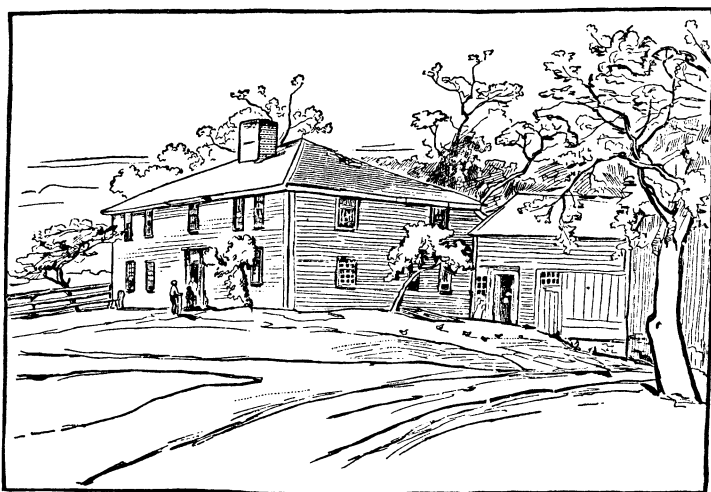
If this theory be correct, the President must be counted as a descendant in the eighth, and not the ninth, generation from the first Garfield in this country.

sized, thick slab of slate-stone, ornamented with a winged head and scroll work, and bears the inscription: —

Here Lyes Buried the
Body of Cap^t BENJAMIN
GEARFEILD Aged 74 Year
Who Departed This Life
November the 28 1717

Blessed are the Dead that Die in the Lord.

The Captain had eight children, of whom the fourth was Lieutenant (sometimes called Captain) Thomas Garfield, born 1680, who established his home in that part of Weston which, in 1754, was incorporated with portions of Lexington and Concord as the town of Lincoln. His fine old homestead



THE GARFIELD HOUSE IN LINCOLN.*

may still be seen about one mile directly south of the centre of Lincoln, standing half way between the Weston road and Beaver Pond, and approached by a lane, shaded by pine trees. It is a large, square, two-story farm-house of the better sort, with the usual capacious chimney in the centre. I drove over

* Drawn by E. G. Champney.

there with a friend one day this week, and I am free to say that for beauty of situation, ample farm accessories, and the general air of rural comfort, I do not know of a place anywhere in the vicinity more desirable as a residence.

The house is now temporarily occupied by Mr. Frank Wheeler, but until within a few years it was in the possession of the Fiske family, who were descendants of the Garfields.

Lieutenant Thomas married, 1706, Mercy Bigelow, of the well-known Watertown family.

They had twelve children, of whom the third was Thomas Garfield, Jr., who was born in 1713.

He married, 1742, Rebecca Johnson, of Lunenburg, and, with his father and his brother John,* he was in 1747 among the twenty-five founders of the First Church of Lincoln. Thomas, Jr.,† was, like his father, a lieutenant in his town's company. The military spirit at that time was growing rapidly, and Abram Garfield, youngest son of this Thomas, participated in the fight at Concord Bridge, as will appear in one of the following letters.

The graves of Thomas, Jr., his wife Rebecca, and son Abram, may be seen in the old graveyard on the hill near the Lincoln church, marked by the tall slate-stone slabs of the period, and inscribed as follows:—

— *Memento Mori* —

In Memory of Mr.
THOMAS GEARFIELD
Who departed this
Life January 3^d
1774 In the 62^d
Year of his age.

The Sin of Adam's laid me low
For Sin hath wrought an overthrow,
From dust I came to dust Im come
And now the dust becomes my home
When Christ comes down with Saints to reign
The dust me no more shall detain.

* Town treasurer of Lincoln in 1759 and 1760. John Garfield and Thankful his wife are buried in the lower cemetery at Lincoln, near the British soldiers' grave.

† Selectman in 1759, and town treasurer in 1770.

Thomas Gear Field

Here lyes y^e Body of
Mrs REBECKAH GEARFIELD
 Consort to Mr.
THOMAS GEARFIELD
 Who departed this Life
 Feb^r the 3 1763 in y^e
 43^d Year of Her Age.

She was Virtuous in Life & Submissive at Death.

—◆—
 In Memory of Mr.
ABRAHAM GEARFIELD
 Son of Mr **THOMAS**
GARFIELD and Mrs
REBECCA his wife
 Who departed this
 Life Augt 15th 1775 In
 the 28 year of his age.

Under these clods my Body doth lie
 Though in my prime yet I must die
 It was Gods will it should be so
 Therefore take warning all below.

In consequence of the elevation of General Garfield to the Presidency, and especially since the excitement attending his assassination, these graves of his ancestors have become the object of tender interest to the people of Lincoln. On the sad funeral Monday, after appropriate services at church, they assembled in the cemetery, and by the hands of the children strewed flowers in profusion around these ancient and now honored graves.

It is not necessary that I should say more to complete the connection between the early ancestors of the President and those of whom he himself speaks in the following letters. I will only add that Solomon Garfield, born 1743, the President's great-grandfather, was the son of Thomas, Jr., whose epitaph is given above. While a young man, Solomon removed to Westminster,* in this State. His

Solomon Garfield

* For a fuller account of Solomon and his family at Westminster, see the paper upon President Garfield's New England ancestry, since read by Senator Hoar at the October meeting of the American Antiquarian Society, and to be published with that Society's Proceedings.

name appears in the list of Captain Noah Miles's company, which marched from that town to Cambridge on hearing of the events of the 19th of April, 1775.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan. 8, 1872.

MY DEAR SIR, — You can hardly imagine the pleasure which your letter of the 3d instant has given me. You will better understand why, when I tell you the causes which have so nearly shut me off from any knowledge of my ancestry.

My father moved into the wild woods of Ohio before he was twenty years of age, and died when he was thirty-three, and of course when his children were all small, and I, the youngest, but an infant.

Separated thus from the early home of our father, we had but scanty means of obtaining any thing like accurate information of his ancestry. The most I knew, until quite recently, were the family traditions retained in the memory of my mother, as she had heard them from father and his mother.

Before giving you any of the later facts which have come to my knowledge, I will copy from a memorandum I wrote in 1858, as to facts given me by my mother. Here it is:—

I. Solomon Garfield (son of Thomas Garfield) came from the town of Weston, Massachusetts, to Worcester,* Otsego County, New York, where he spent the latter part of his life, and died about 1807, by an accidental fall from a beam in his barn. His wife, my mother thinks, was a Miss Lucy Brown,† from Boston or near Boston, but of the name she is not perfectly certain. Your record says she was Sarah Stimson.

But little was known of Solomon's father's family beyond one positive and one supposed fact. For a reason you will see presently it was known that he had one brother by the name of Abraham. It was supposed that Solomon's father's name was Thomas.

II. To Solomon and his wife there were born in Worcester,‡ Otsego County, New York, the following

Children:—

1. Thomas, b. 1774, d. 1801, Worcester, New York.
2. Solomon.
3. Rebecca.
4. Hannah.
5. Lucy.

* Not directly. He removed from Lincoln about 1770 to Westminster, Massachusetts, where he resided at least until 1788. — E. G. P.

† Evidently a mistake. Lucy Garfield, sister of Solomon, married Nathan Brown, of Lincoln. — E. G. P.

‡ The children were all born in Westminster, Massachusetts. — E. G. P.

III. Thomas Garfield (1 above) married Asenath Hill of Schoharie County, New York, who was born 1778. To them were born in Worcester, New York,

Children:—

1. Polly, b. 1795.
2. Betsey, b. 1797.
3. Abraham, b. 1799, Dec. 28, and died in Orange, Cuyahoga County, Ohio, May 3, 1833. He was my father.
4. Thomas, b. 1801, Nov. 19.

Of this family all are dead except Thomas, the youngest, who resides in Newburgh, near Cleveland, Ohio, and has a large family.

IV. Abraham Garfield (3 above) married Eliza Ballou, who was born in Richmond, New Hampshire, Sept. 21, 1801. They were married Feb. 3, 1820.

To them were born

Children:—

1. Mehitabel, b. Jan. 28, 1821. Still living.
2. Thomas, b. Oct. 16, 1822. " "
3. Mary, b. Oct. 19, 1824. " "
4. James Ballou, b. Oct. 21, 1826, and died Jan. 8, 1829.
5. James Abram, b. Nov. 19, 1831. (Myself.)

V. James A. Garfield (5 above) was married Nov. 11, 1858, to Lucretia Rudolph, of Hiram, Portage County, Ohio. To them were born

Children:—

1. Eliza Arabella, b. July 3, 1860, and died Dec. 3, 1863.
2. Harry Augustus, b. Oct. 11, 1863.
3. James Rudolph, b. Oct. 17, 1865.
4. Mary, b. Jan. 17, 1867.
5. Irvin McDowell, b. Aug. 3, 1870.

So much I can give you of my own knowledge, except the traditional accounts mentioned above.

My father Abraham was named after his great-uncle, the brother of his grandfather Solomon, and inherited, or should have inherited, a piece of land which the said great-uncle Abraham willed to Thomas, and [which was willed] by him to my father, for his name. It was this circumstance which brought down to us the fact of Solomon's having a brother of that name, though I will mention in passing that it did not bring the farm with it, as the early death of my father left the matter unsettled, and it lapsed.

During the last eighteen years I have, from time to time, picked up

fragmentary facts and traditions concerning our family and its origin. Many of these traditions are vague and no doubt worthless, but I have no doubt they have some truth in them.

One of them is that the family was originally from Wales. This tallies with what you say concerning the original Edward Garfield coming from the neighborhood of Chester, England. I stood on the walls of Chester a little more than four years ago, and looked out on the bleak mountains of Wales, whose northern boundary lay at my feet along the banks of the Dee. Possibly I was near our ancestral home. A Welsh scholar told me, not many years ago, that he had no doubt our family was connected with the builders of an old castle in Wales, long since in ruins, but still known as Gaerfili Castle.*

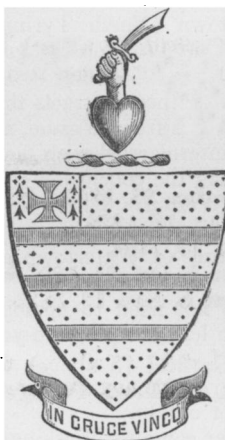
I give you this conjecture for what it is worth.

I have seen the family crest lude in your letter. It was years ago by the Rev. John Haven, Connecticut, and I it in a book of English heraldry have a spare copy of the cut, to receive it.†

While I was in college, at Massachusetts, in 1854 to 56, old Tyringham and Lee, in ty, Massachusetts, and there number of Garfields, some old residents of that neighborhood were the names Solomon which seemed to have continued family. I found that they the neighborhood of Boston.

In an old graveyard in Tyringham (now Monterey), I found the tombstone of Lieutenant Isaac Gearfield (for that I learn was the early spelling of the name), and on the stone was recorded 1755, as the date of his death. The family told me that he (Lieutenant Isaac) crossed the mountains into the wilderness of Western Massachusetts in about 1739, and slept the first night under his cart. Comparing this fact with your record, I should say that he was the same as the Isaac whom you put down as the fifth child of Lieutenant Thomas Garfield (No. IV.)‡ and the next younger brother of Thomas (the father of Solomon, my great-grandfather) and an older brother of Samuel, your great-grandfather.

Since writing the above I have obtained an old history of Berkshire



to which you al- shown me some Garfield, of New have since seen aldry. If you I should be glad

Williamstown, I went down to Berkshire County found a large, twenty families, hood. Among and Thomas, ued along in the had come from

* An imposing pile of ruins near Cardiff, covering many acres, and spelled sometimes Caerphilly. — E. G. P.

† The steel die containing the coat-of-arms was sent to General Garfield, and will doubtless be found among his family papers. — E. G. P.

‡ Referring to a list of the earlier branches of the family taken from Bond's History of Watertown. — E. G. P.

County, Massachusetts, written by the Rev. David Dudley Field, and published in Pittsfield, Massachusetts, in 1829.

On pages 277 to 280, I find the history of the organization and settlement of the town of Tyringham. From this account it appears that in 1735 the Legislature authorized the laying out of four new towns, each six miles square, the first of which towns was Tyringham. The historian says, "It was divided by lot, four of the proprietors being clergymen, and they drew the following lots:—

"Rev. William Williams of Weston drew Lot No. 38, now occupied by Daniel Garfield. . . . The settlement was commenced in 1739. In April of that year, Lieutenant Isaac Garfield and Thomas Slatom moved into Lot No. 1. . . . About 1750, John Jackson moved into the town from Weston, and persons by the name of Thomas and Orton . . . moved into it about the same time . . . The first log house in this section of the town (North Tyringham) was erected by Deacon Thomas Orton, about 1762, on the ground since owned and occupied by his son-in-law, Isaac Garfield."

You will see from these extracts that the settlement of Tyringham was begun by persons from Weston, and that the Garfields that came into Tyringham intermarried with families from Weston.

It seems to make the conclusion very strong that the Garfields were themselves from Weston. I have no doubt that the Lieutenant Isaac Garfield, whose tombstone I have mentioned above, is the Garfield named in the records of Watertown and Weston, referred to in your letter.

I am sure I do not need to apologize to you for this long letter, for if it gives you half the pleasure yours has given me, you will not tire of its length.

I beg you to write me any further details you may possess and any you may hereafter obtain.

Should you ever come to Washington while I am here, or into the neighborhood of my home at Hiram, Ohio, while I am there, consider yourself invited as a welcome guest.

Very truly yours,

J. A. GARFIELD.

E. I. GARFIELD, Esq.,
Comptroller's Office, DETROIT, MICH.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Feb. 8, 1873.

To ———

DEAR SIR, — Yours of the 30th January came duly to hand. I gave it to ——— Garfield, with the request that he furnish such information as he could on the point referred to. I enclose you his note received to-day. The final "e" with which he spells his name is an affectation of his own, and I am sorry he uses it.

Very truly yours,

J. A. GARFIELD.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
WASHINGTON, D. C., Feb. 7, 1880.

E. I. GARFIELD, MT. AUBURN, MASS.

You have my thanks for your kind letter of the 5th instant, giving me the details of old family history, as found in Watertown and vicinity.

I have preserved your interesting letters on the subject written years ago, and shall take pleasure in adding to my stock of information any thing further you may send me.

My History of Watertown is in Ohio, and I am not certain, but I think there is no map in it, and if you will send me one I will be very glad, and will place it among my collection of papers and data in relation to the Garfield family. I am always glad to receive any information on this subject, at any convenient time.

Since our last correspondence on the subject, I found an interesting record in Journals of the Continental Congress. It is recorded there that John Hoar and Abram Garfield, both of Lincoln, made their affidavit,* which was printed by the Continental Congress, showing how the attack at Concord Bridge began. Both these men were in the fight at the bridge.

John Hoar was the grandfather † of the present Senator Hoar, and Abram Garfield was my great-uncle, after whom my father, Abram Garfield, was named, and from whom, through my father, I got my middle name.

I shall be glad to hear from you at any time.

Very truly yours,
J. A. GARFIELD.

MENTOR, OHIO, Jan'y 19, 1881.

MY DEAR SIR, — Yours of the 15th instant came duly to hand. The pen to which you refer has not yet come.

I have read with interest your additional memoranda concerning the Garfields of Massachusetts, and also your — communication in reference to —

Mr. E. I. GARFIELD,
EAST LEXINGTON, MASS.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, July 1, 1881.‡

DEAR SIR, — The pressure upon the President's time prevents him from sending a personal response to your note of the 30th ultimo. He directs me, therefore, to acknowledge its receipt and to say that it is impossible at this time for him to tell whether he will be able to spare

* See depositions taken at Lexington, April 23, 1775, by authority of the Provincial Congress. — E. G. P.

† Great-grandfather. — E. G. P.

‡ This letter was written late Friday evening, July 1, and postmarked "Washington, July 2, 1 P. M.," three hours after the assassination. It must, therefore, have been one of the very last written or dictated by the President. — E. G. P.

the time to make the trip you propose. He expects to be at Concord, Massachusetts, for a short time, and if it is possible for him to go to Watertown he will be glad to do so, but cannot tell certainly about it until he reaches Concord.

Expressing the President's cordial thanks for your courtesies,

I am yours very respectfully,

J. STANLEY BROWN,

Private Secretary.

Mr. E. I. GARFIELD,
27 Franklin St., BOSTON, MASS.

It is well known that the President was anticipating great pleasure in his projected trip to New England, upon which he had just started when he was stricken down by the hand of the assassin. It was his intention, after visiting his *Alma Mater* at Williamstown and making a brief tour of the mountains, to fulfil a long-cherished desire of seeing the early homes and graves of his ancestors, and the adjacent historical sites made famous by the events of April 19, 1775.

"This is ye last will of Edward Garfeild."

[Dec. 30, 1668.]

I, EDWARD GARFEILD of Watertown being sick in body yet through gods goodnes sound in my memory, doe declare this to be my last will and testament as followeth:

Inpri. I give and bequeeth unto my son Samuell Garfeild tenn pounds to be paid in corne or catle within one year after my decease: and forty akers of my land: lieng on the side of Prospect hill: and a peece of meddow containeing aboute two akers and a halfe and being on the east side of Stony brooke: the same peece of meddow which ye s^d Samuell have made use already for diverse years with my allowance: provided ye s^d Samuell alows a cart way through ye s^d peece of meddow to my meddow on the other side of Stony brooke: also I give unto ye s^d Samuell all my wearing cloathes and my great bible: now the reason why I give no more to my s^d son Samuell is because he marieng many years ago I have formerly given him both land and other estate.

2^{dly}. I give unto my son Joseph Garfeild ye house and land which he now lives in: ye land containing about nine and twenty akers: also I give unto ye s^d Joseph ten akers of meddow lieng on the farther side of Chesters brooke westward comainely called plaine meddow: also I give unto ye s^d Joseph my farme as also a maare colt of about a year old.

3^{dly}. I give unto my daughter Rebecka Mixter twenty pounds to be paid her in corne or catle within two years after my descees: as also two pewter platters.

4^{thly}. I give unto my daughter Abigall Garfeild twenty pounds, tenn pound to be paid at the time of her mariage and tenn pounds to be paid two years after: but if ye s^d Abigall shall die unmarried, then my will yt ye s^d twenty pounds be equally divided to Samuell Garfeild

my son and Joseph Garfeild my son: and Benjamin Garfeild my son and Rebecka Mixter my daughter: and if ye s^d Abigall do live unmarried yt then my will is she shall be allowed five and twenty shillings a yeere so long as she lives unmarried. Allso I give unto ye s^d Abigall a fether bed and boulster with a rugg and two blankets and one pewter platter.

5^{thly}. I give unto my grandchild Sara Parkhust one ewe sheepe and an ewe lamb.

6^{thly}. I give unto Sara Garfeild my grandchild seven pounds provided she servs oute her time: but if she servs not oute her time then my will is yt she shall have but fifty shillings only:

7^{thly}. I give unto Ephraim Garfeild my grandchild two cows to be paid within three years after my desceese.

8^{thly}. I give and bequeeth unto my beloved wife a cow which my s^d wife shall have liberty to choose among all mi catle.

Allso I allow unto my s^d wife five pound a yeer as long as she lives, for which my wife had a bond of mee before mariage:

ye s^d five pound to be paid in wheet and peese and ry and indian by equal proportion: (if my executor have them growing) at contry price at such place in Cambridge as my s^d wife shall apoynt: allso my will is yt my s^d wife shall if she please continue in my house: she shall have ye new bed chamber for her use with all the furnature in it, for ye space of seven month: as allso a sufficiency of fier wood for her owne particular burning: allso my will is that my beloved wife above s^d and my daughter Abigall above s^d and my maid Ann should enjoy the benefit of what flax or hemp or wool there shall be in my house at my desceese: and allso yt they are to live at ye charge of my estate for ye space of seven months as above s^d.

As an addition to my beloved wivs legace my will is yt she shall enjoy a fether bed and boulster and two litle pillows which weare of her owne makeing: allso a wolline wheele and a linin wheele.

Allso I doe nominate and apoynt my loveing son Benjamin Garfeild executor to this my will and testament: to receive all due to mee: and to pay all my just debts.

Thus rezineing my spirit to god yt gave it, and my body to ye dust from whence it was takin: I declare this to be my last will and testament: and doe hereunto set my hand this thirtieth day of Decem. one thousand six hundred sixty and eight: desireing my loveing frends Nathan Fisk senior and William Bond senior to se that this my will be performed.

Edward Garfeild did owne this to bee his will and did subscribe to it on ye day and yeer ^{as} above s^d as testifieth

NATHAN FISKE. WILLIAM BOND.

The marke of
EDWARD X GARFEILD.

Taken upon oath 11.5. 1672.

{ W^m. BOND & NATHAN FISKE.

Before Capt. DANIEL GOOKIN

And THOMAS DANFORTH. R.

The Rev. Dr. PAIGE spoke of some errors in an article published in the Boston "Evening Transcript," Oct. 5, 1881, concerning the Danforth Family : —

"Rev. Nicholas Danforth, the ancestor of most of the Danforths in the United States, emigrated to this country in 1634, bringing with him three sons and two daughters. He died four years after his arrival here in 1638. His sons, Thomas and Samuel, were graduates of Harvard College and became eminent in Church and State. Thomas was for many years governor of Massachusetts Colony, and Samuel a noted clergyman, settled in Roxbury, Mass. Jonathan settled in Billerica, Mass., and was a land-surveyor and captain of a militia company," &c.

There are some mistakes in this account. There is no evidence on the records of Cambridge, where Nicholas Danforth resided, that he was a clergyman, but there are distinct intimations to the contrary. He was one of the townsmen (or selectmen) three years, and deputy (or representative) in the General Court two years ; which offices, at that period, were not conferred on clergymen. Moreover, he was the first person "allowed to sell wine and strong water" in Cambridge, March 12, 1637-8. This privilege was granted to none but grave and respectable citizens ; but it was not regarded as a suitable perquisite of a clergyman.

If it be suggested that Mr. Danforth was a clergyman in England, and therefore should be styled "Rev.," although he might not have performed any clerical duties in America, it should be remembered that Cotton Mather describes him as "a gentleman of such estate and repute in the *world*, that it cost him a considerable sum to escape the knighthood which King Charles I. imposed on all of so much per annum ; and of such figure and esteem in the *church*, that he procured that famous lecture at Framlingham in Suffolk, where he had a fine manor."* It is not probable that King Charles would desire to confer knighthood on a Puritan minister ; and if Mr. Danforth had been a preacher, or even a lecturer, Dr. Mather would not have failed to mention it in this eulogy.

Although there is no probability that he was a clergyman, Mr. Danforth was doubtless a man of eminent ability, and one of the comparatively few who in his day were styled "Mr." But his residence here was so short, that he is chiefly known to us as the ancestor of others who attained even

* Magnalia, B. IV. ch. iii. § 1.

higher eminence. What is said in the notice of the Danforth Family concerning his sons Samuel and Jonathan is true; and it might have been added, that his daughter Elizabeth was the grandmother of Governor Jonathan Belcher. It is not true, however, that his son Thomas was a "graduate of Harvard College," nor was he ever "governor of the Massachusetts Colony." But he was more than a graduate, and more than a governor. He rendered faithful service to the town, as Clerk, Selectman, and general manager of affairs; to the college, as Steward and Treasurer; to the county, as Register of Deeds, Register of Probate, and Clerk of the Courts; and to the colony, as Representative, Assistant, Deputy-governor, Judge of the Superior (Supreme) Judicial Court, President of Maine, and Commissioner of the United Colonies. In addition to all these public services, he rendered another of even more importance, involving the hazard of property and liberty and life. He was the recognized leader of that band of sturdy patriots who resisted the encroachments of arbitrary power during the perilous period from 1665 to 1689. Although, for reasons of state, the second place was assigned to him in 1679, when Bradstreet was elected Governor, and Danforth Deputy-governor, careful students of history will generally concur with Palfrey in his estimate of their comparative fitness for leadership: Bradstreet "can scarcely be pronounced to have been equal, either in ability of mind or in force of character, to the task of steering the straining vessel of state in those stormy times. More than any other man then living in Massachusetts, Thomas Danforth was competent to the stern occasion." *

A serial number of the Proceedings, containing the record of the September meeting, was placed upon the table by the Secretary at this meeting.

* Hist. New Eng. vol. iii. p. 331.